I: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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interior villages send down their young men in relays to work for wages at Allapilli. There they get prompt and regular payment and just and fair treatment. There are resting-sheds where the Marias can sleep, leave their scanty personal possessions and take their meals in clean surroundings, not divorced from their own kind. The Forest Department are arranging ever-improving facilities for them to purchase cloth, grain, salt and ornaments at fair prices. Forest work is in itself a technical training. At one time also the local officials tried to establish at Allapilli a small carpentry and basketry school.[1] Everywhere on this tour I met Marias who were on their way either to or from Allapilli, or had worked there from time to time in the past and looked upon it as a place to which they could always go to earn quickly any cash needed for payments of rent, fines or bride-price. More than one passage in *The Aboriginal Problem*[2] describes the Marias' consciousness of the fact that the Allapilli departmental forest operations have saved them from debt and distress; the establishment throughout the Chanda zamindari forests of similar 'Allapillis' was one of my recommendations. Allapilli has further been the one thing that has saved the Marias from the economic ruin that they feared when the Court of Wards and district authorities by a sudden ukase stopped their *podu* or *dahi* cultivation.

From Allapilli we motored eastwards by forest road and by estate forest tracks, generally motorable after slight repair in the open season, to Bhamragarh, halting a night on the way at Pirmeli; it was some fifteen miles from Allapilli to Pirmeli, and another twenty-three on to Bhamragarh. I had been preceded on this tour by Mr. Kerawala inquiring into debt at each big village, and the neighbouring village *bhumias* and *gaitas* and the *patti Sendhias*[3] from miles around gathered again to repeat to me what they had already told him. The first such gathering was at Mirkal[4] and the next at Pirmeli itself. At both places we heard much about money-lenders and their methods, and I therefore reproduce from *The Aboriginal Problem*[5] the gist of Mr. Kerawala's report on what he was told at Mirkal and Wateli;[6] those whom he saw at Wateli came to my camp at Pirmeli.

At Mirkal he enquired particularly into the economic and social conditions of the Marias of Mirkal, Sagangatta and Kasampalli villages. He found that many were heavily in debt to Hindu

[1] *The Aboriginal Problem*, p. 283.
[2] Pp. 257, 332 and 366.
[3] See p. 287.
[4] *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 65A, ref. MV2148.
[5] Pp. 280-2.
[6] *Ordnance Survey of India*, ref. MV4955.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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426 563 money-lenders of Ahiri and Rajaram.[1] Few loans had been taken in cash, and the borrowers being unable to read or write had to depend entirely on the word of the money-lenders. Mada, son of Bodka Maria, of Sagangatta had borrowed Rs. 20 for wedding expenses ten or eleven years before from a Rajaram money-lender, and since then had been repaying him from time to time, generally in kind; he admitted however that he had also taken occasional loans of seed grain. He had no idea of the rates of interest and no means of checking his account, but had been told by his creditor that he now owed him Rs. 100. Korke, son of Kesu Maria said that his 'kind' *sahukar*, Chinwar Poshatti of Ahiri, was good enough to have gone on accepting for years whatever he had been able to pay towards a debt of the details of which he was completely ignorant. A Sagangatta villager had borrowed Rs. 40 twenty years ago from a Kalar money-lender in Ahiri for a wedding and, though he had since repaid many small sums and had given his creditor a bullock and a cow, had been told that he still owed Rs. 100; he said that the Kalar would never explain how he worked this out, but he thought the heavy rate of interest to be the reason why the debt still grew. Generally the Marias said that if they needed seed, they could only get it from the Ahiri and Rajaram money-lenders, who advanced seed on condition of repayment with 25 per cent. interest at the next harvest or 50 per cent. at the second harvest if they defaulted at the first; no consideration was given to failure of crops, and it was only on the promise of payment of 50 per cent. interest that further time was allowed for repayment of principal.

Similar tales were told at Wateli and at my Pirmeli camp by the very large gatherings of Marias. As at Mirkal, cash loans were few but nearly all had taken seed loans at rates of interest varying, even for punctual repayment, from 25 to 50 per cent., and going even higher than 100 per cent. in the event of default. Even if cash is borrowed, interest is paid annually in grain until the borrower can find cash to repay the principal. In fact the money-lenders seem to reckon on perpetual interest in kind on petty initial loans of five to ten rupees. Thus a Maria from Khandanwadi village had borrowed Rs. 10 from an Ahiri Kalar four years before; in each of the first and second years he had paid grain worth Rs. 10 merely as interest, but in the next two years his crops had failed, and he expected in the fifth year to have to pay either Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 worth of grain. A Maria from Pokht village had borrowed Rs. 5 six years ago, from a Telugu money-lender of Indaram, but as he had repaid nothing the Maria headmen said that he was a ruined man, as the money-lender's claims must have so swollen that the Maria

[1] *Ordnance Survey of India*, ref. MV1833.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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would never be able to repay during his lifetime, and the debt would devolve on his sons. Another Maria from Irakdumme village had borrowed Rs. 20 bride-price from an Echli money-lender ten years before and had so far paid him paddy worth Rs. 22-8 as interest, but nothing towards principal, and had no idea what the final demand of his creditor would be. Another Maria from Batanfundi village had borrowed Rs. 12 from an Ahiri money-lender six or seven years ago and though he had repaid the principal was still being dunned for Rs. 40 worth of grain as interest, and was afraid that this high rate would now be doubled, as owing to the crop failure of 1939 he had been unable to repay any grain that year.

Throughout this area a crying need is an agency for advancing small seed-loans. The Government have seldom done this, on the theory that the zamindar should meet his tenants' needs; but we could not find one who had ever been given a seed-loan by the estate. The rates of interest extorted by the nests of money-lenders at Ahiri, Rajaram, Allapilli, Indaram, Echli and other centres are preposterous. The need for these seed-loans has been imposed on the Marias largely by the arbitrary stopping of their *podu* (*dahi*) shifting cultivation; *podu* fields always produced seed grain at least. Such is the pathetic honesty of the Marias that when the Debt Conciliation Board was working they readily acceded to the money-lenders' request to place their thumb-marks by the hundred on application after application begging the Board not to interfere between them and their money-lenders: it was only by persistent effort that the Board secured nearly 800 applications. In our camps the Maria elders opposed debt relief measures on the ground that if a man borrowed it was only right that he and his heirs after him should go on repaying. The final report of the Debt Conciliation Board of 1936 mentioned some fantastic cases. In one a Telugu Komti of Indaram had lent a Maria of Koreli a bullock on hire in 1920, at the usual fee of Rs. 4 worth of paddy. For twelve years the Maria went on paying Rs. 5 worth of paddy. In 1932 the Komti made out that the Maria still owed him Rs. 700 worth of paddy, and proceeded to show against him further compound interest of 50 per cent., until, when the Board took up the case, the Komti claimed as much as Rs. 2,320 worth of grain—all this for the hire of a single indifferent bullock. This, however, pales into insignificance against an Echli case of a money-lender lending Rs. 32 to finance a wedding a few years before, and in his accounts showing this debt, despite a repayment of Rs. 20, as having risen to Rs. 17,519!

At every halting place and camp the Marias' chief grievance, however, was not so much the exactions of money-lenders as the

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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241 312 Bahadur D. Lakshmanswamy in his 1922-4 Sironcha and Garchiroli Settlement Report, paragraph 31 :—

'Agriculture in parts of these zamindaris is as thorough as in the most advanced *khalsa* tracts. One has simply to look at the extensive rice fields and *gattas* of the Madias [*sic*] to admire the almost mathematical levelling of their field embankments. The Maria Gond has a genius for rice cultivation. He selects the best *silas* position area, and with an intuition for irrigation lays out his fields one below the other so as to utilise water from the field above to that lower down. A natural stream or spring of water is generally never allowed to go waste by him. He so embanks and diverts the supply by a system of well arranged water-channels as to utilise the whole supply for his rice area, however distant it may be. Even in the remotest part of the zamindaris agriculture has now developed beyond the domestic stage and assumed the commercial stage. The aboriginals constituting the greater part of the population of these zamindaris mostly live on the early rice, small millets and beans, while the heavy rice grown in the big *gattas* and embanked areas is exported to the markets.'

241 Now it should be noted that this means that for his own subsistence the Maria still relied on the grains and beans dear to his heart, and grown by *dahi* or *jalapod* cultivation, which had not then been stopped except in parts of Ahiri. The growth of heavy rice as a commercial crop is yet another sign of the transition from an 241 406 economy in kind to a cash economy. Of this the money-lender takes full advantage.

563 For in these plains villages around Bhamragarh and Lahiri, besides Marias and Gonds there are nests of Teli exploiters, notably in the six villages of Lahiri, Mallampodur,[1] Kukurmeta,[2] Arawara,[3] Dodhai[4] and Idadapalli.[5] Many of these Teli money-lenders are now wealthy, as a result of small grain loans to the plains Marias and Gonds. The *modus operandi* is repayment indefinitely at rates of interest so high that the principal can never be repaid, while interest takes the form of a steady and heavy share of the debtors' harvest. Some of the Telis resort habitually to molestation of their debtors until the latter satisfy their yearly demand, but though molestation of debtors is now a cognizable offence under the Debtors' Protection Act, the police in their far distant police station at Etapalli never take action against molesting money-lenders. We have seen already on page 102 how these Telis' tentacles had spread to such Bastar villages as Nugor in Kutru Mar in the Indrawati valley, where there were big matting paddy bins in the main street in which all the rice seed of the village was stored on behalf of the Telis, who were free from time to time to remove all paddy from the bins surplus to the Marias' seed requirements, while each Maria villager was free to help himself to seed on the understanding that at harvest

[1] References on *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 65A :
1. MV7957
2. MV7854
3. MV7955
4 and 5. Not marked.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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he would repay with 50 per cent. interest.[1] Although it is clear that these Teli, Kalar and Telugu money-lenders do levy an exorbitant toll on the Maria villagers' produce, it is equally clear that they are fulfilling a necessary function, which has become the more necessary since the stopping of *podu* or *jalapod* cultivation below the hills has restricted the Marias in most villages to permanent rice cultivation on small acreages always dependent on seasonal rainfall evenly distributed in time. If such money-lenders are excluded, then they must be replaced by Government grain depots and village grain banks.

Of Maria funeral rites the *Gazetteer* observes that a stone or a carved post about five feet high is usually put up to mark the spot where a man's body has been cremated, and that 'sometimes one comes across a forest glade strewn with these memorials, the only sign of some deserted village, the very name of which has perished'.[2] Many rows of carved wooden posts may be seen between Bhamragarh and Lahiri, while at Lahiri itself I saw scores of such posts and of the small cromlechs (*hanal-garya* or 'thrones of the Departed') described on page 273, and mentioned in the *Gazetteer*[3] as built on the spot where the body was burned. The top of one of these very substantial funerary posts, or *hanal-gutta*, photographed at Lahiri, is reproduced as one of the illustrations in this Supplement. Noticeable are the carved wooden horns, between which is a carved wooden bird, probably a hornbill. The wooden horns are common, and probably are a modern symbol of the cow formerly sacrificed at the erection of a menhir or wooden *hanal-gutta* by Hill Marias[4] and Bison-horn Marias[5] throughout Bastar: the funerary customs of the Chanda Marias seemed, however, to be Hill Maria in type, and this was confirmed by oral enquiries at Lahiri.

The addiction of the Bison-horn Marias and of the Kutru Hill Marias of Bastar to cock-fighting has been described on page 162. I particularly inquired if the weekly cock-fights at Oikal in Ahiri zamindari, there mentioned, and at Lahiri itself still went on. But all cock-fighting among Chanda Marias had for some years been stopped under orders from an inexperienced young European District Superintendent of Police on the theory that it contravened the Gambling Act. But the Marias maintained that, as in Bastar, so here, there had never been cash betting (as, indeed, one might expect in a region where all transactions are still so largely in kind), but the defeated bird had passed to the owner of the winning bird.

[1] For further details, see *The Aboriginal Problem*, pp. 183-4.
[2] *Chanda District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1909), p. 106.
[3] Ibidem, loc. cit.
[4] See pp. 278-9.
[5] See p. 281.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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the *Sendhias* and the zamindars also denied it. The allegation possibly arises from the fact that the zamindar appoints or confirms the succession of the *Sendhia*, and may arbitrate in a case involving parties from the *patti* of two or more *Sendhias*. Moreover the zamindars themselves have probably often descended from the tribal headmen of old, and so it is easy for them to perform the function of ultimate arbitration in social matters which is so characteristic of the chiefs of the ancient semi-feudal organization of the province from whom they descend or derive. Obviously it would be easy to apply to all the Chanda Maria country the Bastar *panchayat* system.[1]

From Jarawandi our route took us six miles to Pendri, the largest village and virtual headquarters of Jharapapra zamindari, thence six miles to Jharapapra and back; on fifteen miles to Aundhi in Drug district, and thence seven miles to Murumgaon, the headquarters of the Chanda zamindari of that name; the last mile was at long last on made road, the third-class road running east from Garchiroli through Khutgaon, Dudhmala, Dhanora, Rangi, Murumgaon and Koracha zamindaris to Dondi-Lohara and Drug. We were, however, to have trouble on this road next day, when heavy rain flooded unbridged streams between Murumgaon and the twenty miles distant Manpur, the *de facto* headquarters of the Koracha zamindari of Drug. The very long delay in bridging this road and raising it in class is only too typical of the neglect by Government and District Councils of aboriginal areas.

Similarly the District Council had not opened a single school in Jharapapra zamindari. The late zamindar, a Halba by tribe, and amongst the most intelligent and progressive landholders of the two districts, had opened a private school at Pendri[2] which at the time of my visit was being run by a Gondi-speaking teacher of the Marar agricultural caste, and his pupils were six Marar, six Halba and two Pardhan boys. Marias and Halbas are the chief elements in the small population of the zamindari, dwindling steadily by the drift in recent years of Marias across into Bastar for the sake of *podu*.

All along this route there had been frequent pockets of Marar cultivators, especially near the streams. These industrious, progressive, dark-skinned agricultural pioneers have pushed up the valley of every substantial river in the backward areas of Balaghat, Bhandara, Chanda, Drug, Raipur and doubtless other aboriginal districts of the Central Provinces. They have been the chief factor in such increase as there has been of permanent, especially irrigated, cultivation in these Garchiroli and Drug Partially Excluded Areas.

[1] See pp. 295-7.
[2] *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 64D, ref. M/5222

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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563 Pendri is now mainly a Marar village, its 451 inhabitants including only some forty Marias and sixty Halbas. They seem able to live in easy symbiosis with all Gonds, to whom they impart much of their agricultural skill. Their intrusion into these tribal areas, provided it is controlled, is therefore not a bad thing.

178 At Jharapapra there was a once familiar sight, the Halba log-god of the zamindari family, in type precisely similar to the clan-gods of the Hill Marias and the Halba log-gods at Chingnur near Bare Dongar and at other Halba centres in Bastar. The *Kutumb-Naik* headman of the Bare Dongar Halbas had told me in 1929 how some years before the then zamindar of Jharapapra had sent a party of Halbas to carry off the Chingnur log-god to Jharapapra, and how the god had resented this and 'flown' back to Chingnur from the first halting place of the god-snatchers.

000 Of the visits to Aundhi[1] and, next day, to Manpur[2] in Koracha zamindari and some way along the Manpur-Panabaras road, there is little to say except that, generally speaking, the Drug Court of Wards regime in Panabaras and Aundhi seemed to be progressive, and the Drug District Council to do more for the Partially Excluded Areas than its Chanda counterpart.

[162] In the four Partially Excluded zamindaris of Drug the aboriginals form well over sixty per cent. of the population. The 427 worst feature of these estates is that there is a *thekadari* system, originally akin to that once prevalent in Bastar, and that many of the *thekadars*, especially those on whom the semi-permanent 'protected' status has been conferred, are non-aboriginal oppressors of the local Gonds and Marias, while comparatively few aboriginal headmen, except in Panabaras and Ambagarh-Chauki zamindaris, have been declared protected. The whole original conception was wrong in that it involved conversion of the tribal headman or *gaontia* into a lessee or *thekadar* of his village. Various examples have been given in *The Aboriginal Problem*[3] of the way in which these Maria headmen were thus transformed into *thekadars*, and then lost their villages in the great famines, or for other causes, to non-aboriginal intruders, who now rack-rent and oppress the surviving aboriginal tenants. We may give here one example, that of the village of Dokhla in Panabaras zamindari. This village was settled before 1861 by a Maria headman and ten other Marias. The headman absconded during the great famines at the turn of the century. Another Gond was then given the lease, but ultimately could not pay the lease-money and had to surrender the village.

[1] *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 64D, ref. MQ5349.
[2] Ibidem, Sheet 64D, ref. MQ8366.
[3] Pp. 79-81.

1; Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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632 land remain vested in an aboriginal belonging to a tribe notified under the Land Alienation Act of the province, even new tenancies in favour of non-aboriginals require sanction. Often the existence of the aboriginal proprietor is the one thing that saves his fellow tribesmen from being ousted from their lands by Hindu and Muslim incomers. Once he disappears and free alienation of land by aboriginals becomes possible, they will soon sink finally to the level of landless hewers of wood and drawers of water, or at best of factory fodder for Nagpurs and Jamshedpurs. A recent official report on grazing and *nistar*[1] in the zamindaris frankly envisaged the disappearance of the tribal chieftains as probably a good thing; the non-aboriginal who would replace him, it was said, would bring new ideas, new capital, new progress, and therefore it would be better for the villages, which would be well managed by a non-aboriginal instead of being mismanaged or ignored by an aboriginal proprietor. What are the facts? Hardly a single 632 non-aboriginal who in the history of the Central Provinces has 563 elbowed the Gond proprietor out of his estates has done anything for the aboriginal tenantry except to reduce them to debt and helotry. Such new ideas as they have brought into the tribal villages have always tended to destroy or suppress everything good or vital in tribal custom and culture; their 'new progress' has been achieved by getting the aboriginal so heavily into debt that it has been easy to hand over his land to Hindus of castes more acceptable to the new landlord. Nor is it true that there has been no progress under the tribal zamindar: everywhere there has been a steady rise in permanent cultivation, as can clearly be seen from comparing present conditions in such remote estates as these Chanda and Drug zamindaris with the conditions recorded when the Central Provinces were formed in 1861. To the aboriginal also the fact that his *Raja*, as he will always term his zamindar whether or not Government recognize the title, is like him a Korku, a Gond, a Halba or a Maria, has great psychological significance; not all of his tribe are excluded from the seats of the mighty, and a Gond may even rule over a Brahman, and be the final arbiter in the social disputes within his estate not only of his own tribe, but even of Hindu castes. In many zamindaris, notably the Garchiroli estates, Government and District Council alike have neglected communications and nation-building; whatever there is of education and medical relief is even now largely paid for by the zamindar.

[1] *Grazing and Nistar in the Central Provinces Estates, the Report of an Enquiry*, by H. S. Kamath, I.C.S. (Nagpur, Government Printing, 1941); see especially paras. 358-64. *Nistar* means, roughly, tenants' rights of user of forest produce.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria

GHOTUL MEMBERSHIP AND RULES

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The Muria belief in equality is illustrated by a characteristic story. 'Raja Dokara ruled in Tulsidongri. It was thick jungle: there was no Brahmin to cook his food. So he went to Bhagavan to ask for one. Bhagavan said, "Certainly take one if you can recognize him. They all look alike to me". Bhagavan told everyone to wear a dhoti, and when they came, Brahmin and Ganda, Muria and Dhakar, Halba and Maria, the Raja found it impossible to tell which was which. So he sent Idur Kola Pen to see what he could do, but he also failed. At last a fly came and said, "Give me something to eat, and I'll get you a Brahmin". Idur Kola Pen offered it gold and silver and many tax-free villages. "No", said the fly, "I don't want these. There's a sore on your leg. Let me sit and feed there." Idur Kola Pen allowed it, and when it had fed, the fly settled on a Brahmin's head. Thus the man was recognized and he became Raja Dokara's cook.'

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This conception of complete democracy affects the position of the leaders. Their power is not absolute; they can be, and sometimes are, removed from office. They can be punished by a meeting of the other members. At Palari, the three leaders—Diwan, Tahsildar and Jamadar—abused their position, and the boys and girls met and fined them. In any case, the rule of the ghotul is not that of a dictator, but of a council. Associated with the chief boy or girl is a company of two or three who advise them on all important matters.

These leaders do, of course, have their privileges. The little boys fag for them and massage them if the girls are absent. Little girls do the Belosa's hair and run her errands. In ghotul where partners have to be constantly changed, the leaders are sometimes allowed to have girls of their own. In Banjora, for example, the Kotwar, who is there the leader, and the Belosa always sleep together, though the others must change every two or three days.

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Are members of other tribes and the Hindu castes admitted to the ghotul? This is the sort of question that is usually met with an indignant denial from the Muria elders, who explain that they never admit outsiders for fear of possible matrimonial complications, and equally indignant denials from Hindus and others who claim that the ghotul is a degraded institution to which they would never send their children. Neither is true.

Throughout the Muria area may be found examples—not many examples, but some—of Muria-Lohar, Rawat, Nahar and even the despised Ganda and Ghasia being admitted as members of the dormitory. Such children receive titles; they are allotted duties and allowed all ghotul privileges. In Palli Barkot the people said that Muria-Lohar boys and girls were given the fullest privileges but that there was a ban on Mahara, Rawat and Kuruk. The Lohar children could sleep with the Muria children, but must not marry them. In Nayanar I discovered to my astonishment that two of the girls who were taking the leading part at a Muria wedding were Lohar—the Alosa and Dulosa of the ghotul. In Markabera, the most popular girl in the entire company, the Saile who had a Muria ghotul-partner, was a Lohar. The Belosa of the Mule ghotul was a Lohar, so was the Salya; in 1941 the Jamadar of Kokori, the Jamadar of Phunder, the Jalaru (a girl) of Phunder, the Jhoria of Modenga were all Lohar.

The leading drummer of Hatipakna was a Nahar and two of his brothers and a sister were also prominent members of the ghotul. At Junganar a Ganda boy was made the Suel, and a Ghasia was the Kotwar at Modenga. In Phunder there was a Kalar boy. Rawat are commonly admitted.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

Such privileges are not universal or uncontrolled. In Junganar only very small Ganda girls may massage the boys or sleep in the ghotul; once they are mature, though they may attend the dances, they may not massage and must say Johar at a distance. This rule seems to have been made by the Ganda elders rather than by the Muria. For the Muria are generally more anxious to control the behaviour of the boys of other castes; girls are allowed to do what they like.

The relations of Muria and Muria-Lohar are discussed in more than one song. Here is a Manda dance song from Tursani village.

Jāging poysi weke dāda roy seng busur bhushās?	Where are you going with your bamboo basket, brother?
Nia bāti pāri dāda?	What is your clan, brother?
Pāri ori hile bai.	I have no clan, girl.
Jāti wāde lyona bai.	I am a Lohar boy, girl.
Nima weke dān ton dāda?	Where are you going, brother?
Irum mara koyala bai	To get charcoal of mahua wood, girl.
Koyala pandi dān tona bai	I am going to make charcoal, girl.
Nana gala wāyāka dāda.	I will come with you, brother.
Nima icho wāyama bai.	Don't come with me, girl.
Jāti dube māyār bai.	Your caste will be broken, girl.
Sarus pite jori dāda.	Two cranes make a perfect pair, brother.
Jori ise ayahāt dāda.	We will pair off like them, brother.

A Har Pata, sung when the girls of Kehalakot go to dance in other ghotul at Diwali, is on the same theme.

Pāri porro nititon bai le.	On the bank of the field you were standing, girl.
Niya pāri wāti roy bai le?	What is your clan?
Pāri ori hile roy dāda le.	I have no clan, brother.
Nāwa pāri ātek roy dāda le.	If I had a clan, it would be yours.
Jāti sori layāna dāda le.	I am a girl of the Sori clan, brother.
Niya pāri wāti roy dāda le?	What is your clan, brother?
Pāri ori hile roy bai le.	I have no clan, girl.
Jāti wade layona bai le	I am a blacksmith boy.
Titi dāda uti roy dāda le,	You have eaten and drunk me, brother,
Jāti dube kiti roy dāda le.	And have made my caste sink down.

Naturally such an arrangement sometimes leads to trouble. At Sarandi a Lohar chelik ran off with a Muria motiari, and since then outsiders have not been admitted there. At Gohora, the Saidar—a Rawat boy—eloped with the Pissa who was a Muria girl, and the ghotul was henceforward closed to visitors.

VI. Relations between Different Ghotul

Members of different ghotul meet at dances, marriages and festivals. They visit each other on dancing expeditions throughout the year. Sometimes they have dancing contests. Neighbouring ghotul send gifts to each other, especially at the time of eating parched rice at Diwali. Thus when I was at Siūhawand, the boys put aside a good portion of their parched rice to send to the Kokameta ghotul with which they had relations of special friendship. At Banjera they sent one measure of rice to Bhopna and one measure to Kokori asking the boys and girls of those ghotul to share their feast. Bhopna and Kokori returned the gifts at the Chherta festival.